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NOTES ON MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

[This department of the *ANNALS* will endeavor to place before the members of the Academy matters of interest which serve to illustrate the municipal activity of the larger cities of Europe and America. Among the contributors are James W. Pryor, Esq., Secretary City Club, New York City; Sylvester Baxter, Esq., *Boston Herald*, Boston; Samuel B. Capen, Esq., President Municipal League, Boston; A. L. Crocker, Esq., President Board of Trade, Minneapolis; Victor Rosewater, Ph. D., *Omaha Bee*, Omaha; Professor John Henry Gray, Chairman Committee on Municipal Affairs, Civic Federation, Chicago; Jerome H. Raymond, Ph. D., University of Wisconsin; F. L. Siddons, Esq., Washington, D. C.; Donald B. MacLaurin, Esq., President Civic Federation, Detroit, Mich.; Professor A. C. Richardson, Buffalo, N. Y.; M. B. May, Esq., Cincinnati, Ohio; W. B. Spencer, Esq., New Orleans; William H. Parry, Esq., Comptroller City of Seattle, Wash.]

AMERICAN CITIES.

Street Railways in the United States.

The 1895 edition of "American Street Railway Investments," contains much valuable information concerning the development of street railway systems during the year from May 1, 1894, to May 1, 1895.* One very general fact which the history of the last year emphasizes is the process of street railway consolidation in all the larger cities of the United States. Owing to the fact that the electric motor system has been very generally introduced, the changes within the last year have not been of the importance of the two preceding years. In Boston, for instance, the last year shows but very little change, owing to the fact that in the central portions of the city, the narrowness of the streets and the congested condition of traffic will not permit of the extension of street railway lines. In Chicago, the present year stands in direct contrast with the remarkable prosperity of all street railway lines during the period of the World's Fair. In New York City, the surface roads have been encroaching very seriously upon the traffic of the elevated lines. The introduction of the improved cable system along the lines of the Sixth and Third Avenue Elevated has reduced the gross earnings of the Manhattan Elevated by nearly one million dollars. The surface lines of the same streets show a corresponding increase of earnings. The experience of New York City seems to prove that, unless some means of reaching elevated roads other than stair climbing, can be

* "American Street Railway Investments," a supplement to the *Street Railway Journal*, Edw. E. Higgins, editor, Havemeyer Building, 26 Courtlandt street, New York City.

provided, the increased rapidity which new motive powers has made possible on surface lines, will permanently affect the position of the former.

New York.—The recent sale of a street railway franchise in New York City illustrates very well the operation of the new street railway law. This act, as passed in 1886, and amended 1891, provides for the sale at public auction of all street railway franchises and prescribes as a minimum return to the city, 3 per cent of the gross receipts during the first five years, and 5 per cent thereafter. In the sale of the right to operate a line thirteen and one-half miles in length in the suburban sections of the city, the Third Avenue and the Traction Companies were lively bidders for the franchise. The highest bidder was the Third Avenue Company, to which the franchise was awarded.

The terms agreed upon are as follows: In addition to the 3 per cent of the gross receipts during the first five years, and the 5 per cent thereafter, which the law prescribes as a minimum, the company agrees to pay 38½ per cent of its gross receipts into the city treasury. Also a bonus of \$250,000. In order to protect the city and to assure the payment of this large percentage, the Comptroller required the company to execute a bond for \$500,000 at the time of sale. These, however, are not the only conditions which have been attached to the granting of the franchise. The ordinances empowering the Comptroller to receive bids in accordance with the Act of 1891, contains the additional stipulations: First, that the fare over the entire line shall not exceed five cents and, in case branch roads are constructed, free transfers must be issued. Secondly, that no overhead trolley system shall be constructed south of 162d street; though north of that line, overhead trolleys are permitted for the period of ten years. Thirdly, the companies are required to keep the street between the tracks and two feet beyond the rail on each side, clean and free from dirt and snow. Fourthly, that they shall pave the streets between the rails and two feet on each side, to conform in all respects to the paving in other portions of the said streets. Fifth, the cars are to be properly and sufficiently heated during cold weather on pain of penalty of ten dollars per day for each car not so heated.

*The Recent Elections in New York City.**

When the county convention of the Good Government Clubs met upon the twenty-eighth of August of this year, the leaders of the Committee of Seventy were not in the city, and no general movement

* Communication of James W. Pryor, Esq.

for concerted action against Tammany Hall had been proposed. That convention adjourned, leaving in the hands of an executive committee the task of continuing preparations for the approaching campaign. After nearly a month of preparatory work, the committee called another convention. At this meeting, on the thirtieth of September, a majority of the committee presented a report recommending adjournment after appointing a committee to confer with all organizations opposed to Tammany Hall with a view to agreeing upon a ticket. The minority of the committee, however, presented a report advocating the nomination of a ticket without any attempt to confer with organizations known to be not entirely in harmony with the principles of the Good Government Clubs, and insisting that such conference could result only in a ticket designed in part, at least, to strengthen the political machines. The minority report prevailed; and the convention nominated candidates for eight of the ten places which were to be filled at the election. The following day Dr. Parkhurst sent a telegram to Mr. Charles Stewart Smith, chairman of the committee on political reform of the Chamber of Commerce, condemning the action of the Good Government Convention, and declaring that it was necessary for the Chamber of Commerce to take action. The Chamber of Commerce met on Thursday, the third of October; and out of this meeting grew the Committee of Fifty. This committee proceeded, through a sub-committee of five appointed by its executive committee, to undertake the task of bringing about a union against Tammany Hall. On Monday, the seventh of October, this committee of five had succeeded, through a series of conferences, in making up a ticket, which, with slight modifications, was nominated that evening by the adjourned conventions of the Republicans and the State Democracy. The convention of the Good Government Clubs met on the following day, and, after a long debate, decided not to support this fusion ticket but to keep its own ticket in the field. The campaign which followed cannot be detailed here. The division which thus took place in the ranks of the sincere friends of good city government is probably unprecedented in the history of municipal reform movements in this country. The Committee of Fifty, representing much of the intelligence and wealth of the community, contended that the one necessary thing was to defeat Tammany Hall, while the Good Government Clubs, as represented in the convention, held that a victory of Tammany through a sacrifice of the principles which the clubs had always declared to be essential would be a defeat rather than a victory. An address was issued by the Good Government Campaign Committee, on the thirteenth of October, in which the dangers of compromise with regular party organizations were

pointed out, especially with reference to division of offices. The Committee of Fifty also issued an address upon the nineteenth of October, in which the necessity of the union of all anti-Tammany forces, no matter what their party affiliations, was pointed out.

Upon the lines thus indicated, the argument between the friends of the respective tickets proceeded. The Good Government Committee pointed out that at two successive county conventions the Good Government Clubs had adopted platforms declaring that the clubs would support "for municipal and county offices only such candidates as represent our principles, and whose characters and careers inspire confidence in the sincerity of their professions;" and that it was, therefore, impossible to support a ticket which, like the fusion ticket, was in part made up for the purpose of strengthening the national parties in city politics, and of placing important patronage in the hands of politicians for political purposes. It is true that no concealment was made of the fact that the Republicans nominated the fusion candidate for County Clerk with the distinct understanding that he was to enjoy the considerable patronage of the office, and that the State Democracy representatives on the ticket were named by the machine of that organization. Four of the fusion candidates were also upon the Good Government ticket. The other candidates upon that ticket were undoubtedly superior to the corresponding candidates upon the fusion ticket. The Good Government ticket as a whole was generally admitted to be above criticism. Tammany elected its entire ticket by pluralities varying from 18,000 to 24,000. The Good Government ticket received but a small vote, although it is probable that the actual number was considerably greater than the one thousand six hundred returned. In the course of the campaign, some seven or eight of the twenty Good Government Clubs repudiated the action of the convention in nominating and in keeping the ticket in the field; and several of these clubs went so far as to endorse the fusion ticket.

The result of the election is not the "return of Tammany to power," fear of which was expressed before the fifth of November. The election gives to Tammany the offices of Register and County Clerk, both of which have been filled by Tammany men for a number of years, and eight judgeships, of which four are new and the remainder are now filled by Tammany men except so far as the Governor has appointed men to fill vacancies.

An interesting feature of the election was the new party-column blanket ballot, used this year for the first time. While the actual voting was greatly facilitated in comparison with the election of last year, when each voter was compelled to select from about twenty

official ballots, the objections made to the party-column ballot when it was under discussion proved serious in the actual process of election. The contention that the ballot would greatly discourage independent voting, and would tend in various ways to disfranchise the elector, was amply sustained by the result. In respect to the supreme court judgeships, about ten thousand ballots were declared defective in this city.

Mayor Strong has recently appointed a new board of Park Commissioners, in place of the commissioners who recently resigned, after serving a short time. The new appointments are excellent, and the board can be counted upon to serve the public faithfully and intelligently.

Philadelphia.—On Monday, November 11, 1895, the Senate Investigating Committee held its first session. This committee was appointed in pursuance of a resolution adopted by the State Senate to obtain such information as might be needful to the end that proper legislation "may be enacted to remedy and prevent such abuses as may be found to exist in the legislation and government of cities of the first class." Inasmuch as Philadelphia is the only city of the first class, the object of the resolution was directed toward the investigation of local affairs. At the outset, the effect of the resolution and the purpose of the committee were blocked by the refusal of the lower house to appropriate the funds necessary to carry on the investigation. In order to make the investigation possible, the Citizen's Municipal Association guaranteed to furnish the \$20,000 asked for. As a result, this association has been collecting evidence, and the attorneys for the committee are in fact the attorneys of the association. At the opening session, Mr. Freedley, of the counsel for the committee, stated that the field of inquiry would be divided into an investigation; first, as to municipal contracts; and, secondly, as to municipal wrongs. He laid particular stress upon the former, claiming that there was distinct evidence that municipal contracts were not enforced in the same spirit as the contracts of private associations.

The attention of the committee will for some time to come be directed to the making and enforcement of contracts relating to highways.

The recent experience of the city of Philadelphia with the street railway companies illustrates very clearly the general method of dealing with this service in the United States. The consolidation of the three great companies referred to in the November ANNALS, is now an accomplished fact. With the enormous capital at their disposal, together with the economy which unified management and

control must make possible, the opportunities for improved service as well as increased payments by the companies to the city, were such as they had never been before. At this point, however, the comparative helplessness of the city became apparent. In granting the franchises, no adequate right of regulation was reserved, and absolutely no mention of any future control over the rates of fare.

One of the first acts of the newly consolidated company was to abolish the transfer system, to fix single fares at five cents, and to issue exchange tickets for eight cents. The City Council sent a petition requesting the directors not to make this change, but this was disregarded. The increased rates will weigh most heavily upon the class least able to bear them. By far the largest majority of the laboring classes who, living in the extreme northern or southern sections of the city, are compelled to travel long distances, will find the increase of three cents per trip a considerable addition to their expense accounts. It has been calculated that the increase in the price of exchange tickets will, if the traffic continues as at present, increase the receipts of the company by nearly \$2,500,000, and that upon the income of those earning less than \$10 per week the increased rates will be equivalent to an income tax of about 3 6-10 per cent. It remains to be seen whether this addition of three cents will so influence the traffic as to compel the companies to return to the former condition. It is perfectly possible for the city, in the exercise of its police power, so to hamper the company as to make some concession on their part necessary. The indirect effect of arousing public opinion to the importance of the problem of public transportation may not be altogether fruitless.

This action of the companies has sufficiently aroused public sentiment to compel Councils to make an investigation as to the relation between the city and the companies. Whatever may be the practical result of this investigation, the fact that it will lead to a more definite recognition and formulation of the rights and powers of the city and the obligation of the companies, will represent a distinctive gain in local administrative relations. The investigation which has been placed in the hands of a sub-committee of the Law Committee of Councils, has submitted to the City Solicitor a series of questions which practically cover the field. They ask, first, for the conditions attached to the charters and ordinances under which the various companies operate. Second, the powers of the city of Philadelphia under the law, through police power and under the conditions attached to charters and ordinances as to hours of employment; frequency of service; regulation of fares; removal of poles

and wires; fenders, and protection of motormen from exposure. Third, the remedies of the city in the enforcement of conditions and the prevention of further infraction. Fourth, the proper remedy of the city for the removal of unused tracks. Fifth, the legal relations of consolidated and constituent companies of the city. The answer to these questions, coming from authoritative sources, will do much to prepare the way for a definite adjustment of the relation between our cities and street railway companies, when, as must necessarily be the case, they are passed upon by the courts.

The Director of Public Works has made an important statement with regard to the gas works of the city, the occasion of which was a proposition made by a private company to furnish gas in certain sections of the city for fuel purposes, at the rate of 70 cents per thousand cubic feet. The Director, in opposing this encroachment upon the domain of municipal activity, states that if Councils will provide the necessary money for the plant, the city will be able to furnish fuel gas at less than 70 cents and still make a profit. It is certain that if Councils adopts the policy of granting such rights to private companies, the problem of making the city gas works a profitable investment will become an increasingly difficult one. Inasmuch as the city will be able to offer the same, if not greater advantages than private companies, there seems to be no adequate reason for thus weakening the position of the city's works.

The ninth annual report of the Citizen's Municipal Association of Philadelphia, shows the possibilities of public benefits which associations such as this are in a position to confer upon the community. During the year, April 1894-95, the Association has been active in its endeavor to maintain a strict supervision of municipal contracts and in maintaining a watchful supervision over the granting of municipal franchises. In three different cases it has been the means of forcing upon public attention abuses which might otherwise have escaped notice. The first was in the case of the Queen Lane reservoir, which was shown to be defective in construction and unfit for the purposes for which it was intended. In the second, the Association was the means of forcing upon the attention of Councils the circumstances under which valuable franchises had been granted, and finally, when the State Senate investigation into municipal conditions of Philadelphia was in danger of falling to the ground for lack of funds, the Association came forward with a guarantee of \$20,000, for the purposes of the committee.

Brooklyn.—The rapidity with which the work of consolidating companies enjoying municipal franchises is proceeding, is shown by the recent union of the Brooklyn gas companies. The new

company has been organized with a capital of \$30,000,000. Fortunately for the city sufficient power is given to the public authorities to take advantage of the increased facilities which this consolidation makes possible. Under an act passed in 1895,* municipal authorities are authorized to contract for the lighting of streets for a period not exceeding fifteen years; such contract to be made at public sale, and to provide for progressive reduction in price. The interesting principle contained in the act, is, that in such contracts for public lighting, there shall be a provision that "during the term therein specified, the corporation party thereto, may and shall supply gas to the inhabitants of such city at prices lower than those now or then charged therein by such corporation party thereto, and progressively lower for each year of such term." In the awarding of contracts, the schedule of rates for private consumption is to be taken into account in determining the relative merits of different offers.

San Francisco.†—There seems to be a general demand for a new charter. Up to the present time the city has not been able to avail itself fully of the new constitutional provisions adopted in 1880, which gave to the city the power to frame its own charter. As originally framed, the constitutional provision gave to all cities with a population exceeding 100,000 the power to call a local constitutional convention, to consist of fifteen freeholders, whose duty "it shall be, within ninety days after such election, to prepare and propose a charter for such city," and "within not less than thirty days after its publication, such charter shall be submitted to the qualified electors of such city, at a general or special election." If adopted by a majority of the qualified electors, it is then submitted to the State Legislature for approval or rejection. When approved by a majority of the members of each House, it becomes the charter of the city.

Subsequent amendments to the State Constitution have extended this privilege to cities with a population of over 3500. In 1880, 1883 and 1887, San Francisco made an attempt to avail itself of the provisions, but in each case, the charter as drafted was rejected by the people. As a result, the condition of the city's government, at the present time, is anything but satisfactory. The constitution forbids special city legislation, but the division of the cities into classes makes it possible to pass what, in its effect, is special legislation as regards San Francisco. The question of the extent of the power of the Legislature introduces an element of uncertainty into the situation, which is extremely harmful. City officials must keep a sharp lookout on the doings of the Legislature at Sacramento and

* Known as the Wray Act. Chapter 390. Laws of New York, 1895.

† Based on the communication of I. T. Milliken, Esq.

when legislation affecting San Francisco is enacted, doubt as to the constitutionality of the measures very often exists. For instance, at the last session an act was passed regulating primary elections, and providing for a board of election commissioners for the city and county of San Francisco. The decision of the Supreme Court is being awaited to decide as to its constitutionality. Another question, which has introduced an element of uncertainty into the administration of the city, has been as to the exact relations existing between the city and county of San Francisco, which were made co-terminous by the Consolidation Act of 1856. Recently the Board of Supervisors levied a tax for city and county purposes. One item of considerable importance was for a new city hall. The Mayor attempted to veto the levy, but in view of the uncertainty of his powers, the question will have to be passed upon by the Supreme Court. San Francisco thus offers an excellent illustration of the administrative chaos to which constant legislative interference must necessarily lead.

Cincinnati*—Cincinnati will begin the new year with an increase of population and territory. In 1893 the Legislature passed an act allowing the people of Cincinnati and contiguous municipal corporations to vote on the question of annexation, and in 1894 the electors by an overwhelming majority decided to annex to the city the municipalities of Avondale, Clifton, Riverside, Linwood and Westwood. The report of the Annexation Commissioners which has been approved by the Court of Common Pleas shows that the assessment of the city will be increased by some ten million dollars and a population of over sixteen thousand added to the city.

This annexation will necessitate the formation of new wards and will add many new members to the Board of Legislature (City Council), and the Board of Education. As these suburbs were the home mainly of merchants and families of comfortable incomes, a very desirable addition has been made to the citizen body which it is hoped will show its effect in the personnel of the governing authorities.

The annexation of the five largest contiguous corporations of Hamilton County, suggests the advisability of making the city co-extensive with the county, and in all probability some legislation to that end will be attempted by the new Legislature which convenes in January, 1896.

The Cincinnati Municipal Civil Service Reform Association, which was reorganized last year, is taking active measures to secure

*Communication of M. B. May, Esq.

favorable legislation for the reform of the local civil service. At a recent meeting of the Executive Committee, a sub-committee was appointed to act with similar committees in Cleveland and other large cities with the view to drafting suitable bills to be presented to the next Legislature.

New Orleans.*—The campaign for municipal reform in New Orleans was fairly begun this month by the organization of the "Citizens' League." This movement is an outgrowth of the agitation that has been carried on during the past two years by the Balot Reform League, which has taken the active lead in the reformation of the defective election and registration laws now on the statute books. In view of the fact that our State and municipal elections take place at the same time, and the fact that the city "*ring*" has shown a complete disregard of every interest of the city, it was deemed expedient to merge the issue of honest elections and suffrage laws with that of good city government. The result of this amalgamation has been beneficial to both causes, so that it is now confidently believed that the ring will be overthrown at the approaching election in April.

The "Citizens' League" is organized on strictly non-partisan lines, and is pledged to the reformation of election and registration laws; an absolutely clean municipal ticket; the enactment of a new city charter, embracing as a prominent feature, civil service reform in all departments; and the revision of the criminal procedure of our courts with a view to the speedy and impartial trial of criminals. The belief of the organizers of the League is that if any permanent reform is to be secured, it must be based on the enactment of laws that will secure to each citizen the opportunity to record his preference in elections with the assurance that it will receive due effect. It is the common experience of all, that under present conditions it is impossible to prevail upon many citizens of the so-called "better element" to actively participate in political affairs. Appreciating the importance of the present opportunity, the League will endeavor to effect at one time the most essential reforms in the organization and administration of the municipal affairs of this city. The many abuses to be corrected will give it ample work during the time intervening before the election in April, and the industry and patriotism of its members will be taxed to the utmost in completing the work of organization and in preparing for the vast work on hand.

Thus far the results have been most encouraging. It was found

*Communication of Walker B. Spencer, Esq.

easy to enlist the most influential citizens, and many who were never known to engage actively in political affairs have taken posts requiring untiring exertions.

In order to better carry out its schemes of reform, the League has established commissions, composed of the most eminent men in the city, to whom have been referred the preparation of the legislation necessary to the above mentioned reforms. In the meantime the main body itself will devote its energies to the conduct of the campaign proper.

At present almost a majority of its City Council is under indictment for bribery, and it is momentarily expected that the present grand jury will find true bills against quite a number in addition. The indictment of these men, however, has never suggested to the Mayor the propriety of suspending them from office, as he has a right to do. The only commendable feature about the councilmanic corruption is that it is so open and flagrant that conviction is sure, once a trial is had; but the interminable delays and technical obstacles that our criminal procedure enables them to interpose has thus far saved most of them from the penitentiary. Unfortunately we cannot even boast that the stern hand of the law is felt only in the Council Chamber. The Mayor was tried by the courts for malfeasance in office, and many were of the opinion that he should have been removed, except, unfortunately, the three judges who sat in the case. He was so elated over his "vindication" that he has asked Councils to appropriate \$5000 to pay his counsel, which was promptly complied with. In view of the fact that two of the three judges owed their positions directly to him, the public at large does not view this vindication in the same light. These indictments have led to further revelations. A prominent banker and financier, the purchaser of a most valuable street railway franchise embracing some fifty miles of street railways, was indicted for perjury in connection with his testimony before the grand jury in relation to that transaction. His high standing and his vehement protestations of innocence induced many to believe he had been greatly wronged. He demanded a speedy trial, and was accommodated, and to his great surprise as promptly convicted. Soon after the community was startled by his confession of guilt, and the implication of another prominent man of affairs, who had been the successful purchaser of the lighting, drainage and garbage franchises.

Washington*—The present form of government of the District of Columbia is just about twenty-one years old, and in framing it, so

*Communication of F. L. Siddons, Esq.

it is claimed, the attempt was made to establish its true or constitutional relations to the national government. Perhaps it will not be amiss to outline in a very brief way the salient features of the District government.

To begin with, it is absolutely non-representative, its 300,000 inhabitants, more or less, having no voice or part in its administration. Congress is its legislature and a board of three Commissioners, appointed or designated by the President, constitutes the local executive authority. Its judges are appointed by the President, and their tenure is for life. The majority has been appointed from without the District and learn our law in the process of expounding it.

The national government contributes 50 per cent of the total cost of running the local government, and the remaining 50 per cent is raised by taxing the people and property of the District. And here we reach the first municipal reproach and the most important one.

Our system of taxation, if it can be so dignified, is antiquated in the extreme and possesses all those vices that make a system unjust and oppressive. Real estate, meaning land only; improvements, meaning buildings of all kinds on land, and personal property are the supposed subjects of taxation. Licenses to carry on various occupations are another source of revenue.

Let us take the first mentioned subject of taxation—real estate. From the very foundation of Washington as the seat of the Federal Government, speculation in real estate has been its bane. Visitors to the District as they gaze at the noble pile composing the Capitol often wonder why it faces east when so small and comparatively unimportant a part of the District lies in that direction, and when the view is so much finer both of the city and surrounding country in the opposite direction. Speculation in real estate during the early days of the city's life, did it. The Capitol was built facing the east because it was believed and intended that the city would grow in that direction, but the land speculator was at work and holding the land lying east of the Capitol at outrageously high prices, the legitimate investor was driven west of the building for his home site. In this instance the speculators deservedly suffered but they found a foothold here, and here they have remained ever since.

Land held for speculative purposes is assessed at a fraction of its real value and this is true also relatively speaking of the more valuable business and residential properties. The land on which the small home stands is assessed generally at very near its true value, and thus it is that the home-owner pays the bulk of the tax on land,

while acres of desirable home sites are held out of use by those who do not bear their just share of taxation, and who quietly wait until the community shall increase there. And so with improvements. Large office buildings and business houses of all kinds with unusual income producing powers are assessed at from 35 to 55 per cent of their value, while humble homes everywhere are assessed at from 65 per cent to beyond their real value.

The personal property tax is worse than a failure. After repeated attempts to assess and collect it fairly without the slightest success, it has now become practically a dead letter, and its repeal is yearly recommended by the assessor and District Commissioners. A considerable revenue is collected from liquor licenses and licenses on a number of small occupations, which as to the latter, at least, in simple justice should not be imposed.

Like the real estate speculator, the corporations of the District escape with little taxation. The great street railway companies that have secured the most valuable franchises without compensation to the District, are but slightly taxed, and the lighting monopolies are likewise favored. Indeed it would be difficult to find a city in the country where corporate aggression is held less in check than at the national capital.

As was said before the system of taxation prevailing in the District is the first and most serious municipal reproach, but no effort is being made to remove it, and none is likely to be while the powers that now control District legislation remain in the ascendancy. And this they are likely to do so long as the people of Washington are denied the means of making known their grievances and themselves correcting them by the ordinary means that in enlightened political communities are at the disposal of the inhabitants.

Omaha*—The late local campaign in the city of Omaha was fought out on the lines of reform, and resulted in the defeat of the reform element. Strengthened by the decision in the Police Commission case previously described, and in complete possession of the machinery of the municipality, and the Republican party, the A. P. A. faction nominated a ticket composed largely of members of the combine in control of the city government. Three Councilmen were nominated for promotion to other offices, the City Clerk was renominated, the deputy of the Comptroller, to whose neglect of duty the late \$30,000 treasury defalcation is in part ascribed, was nominated for the Comptrollership, while the president of the new Police Commission headed the ticket as the candidate for Mayor.

* Communication of Victor Rosewater, Ph. D., Omaha.

Opposed to this A. P. A. Republican aggregation was the ticket nominated by the Citizens' Reform League, and endorsed by the Democrats and in part by the Populists. The reform Council and School Board tickets were composed entirely of representative business and professional men, and the reform campaign was conducted on a platform of retrenchment and economy. For three or four city offices there were third candidates in the field, but they played no important part in the result.

The campaign was short and sharp. The machine appeared to be too strongly intrenched, and the outcome was the election of the entire A. P. A. city ticket with the exception of two candidates for the city Council. The newly elected officers assume their duties January first, when they will be confronted with a financial problem that will tax their abilities to the utmost.

FOREIGN CITIES.

London.—The County Council has again taken up the question of the relation of the metropolis to the city of London, and more especially the Livery Companies. These companies, as was pointed out in speaking of the Royal Commission Report are the legal successors to the mediæval guilds. They have, however, entirely lost their significance as trade organizations and represent nothing more than social and benevolent associations which have inherited important property rights formerly belonging to the city's guilds. The County Council wishes if possible to restrain the companies from alienating their property and to ensure the dedication of this property to objects of public utility. The Royal Commission which inquired into this subject made recommendations of the same character, but Parliament has not as yet acted thereon. As the annual income of these companies exceeds three and one-half million dollars, the possibility of public improvements through the use of this sum is considerable.

Berlin.—The development of municipal savings banks within the last few years has acquired an importance which gives to them very respectable standing as compared with other public and private banking institutions. The German cities have taken hold of this question with an energy and vigor characteristic of other departments of the administration. The annual report of the Berlin Savings Bank for the fiscal year 1894-95, gives some extremely interesting facts showing the progress of this institution. On the thirty-first of March, 1895, the total deposits amounted to \$40,000,000 representing an increase of nearly \$3,000,000 over the preceding year.

This increase was due not so much to the larger average deposits, but rather to an increase in the number of depositors. The report shows that while in 1894 there were 484,363, in 1895 the number had increased to 509,732. The number of payments during the year reached 526,292. Of these 178,960 were from 25 cents to \$5, and 162,212 from \$5 to \$15. The total cash capital of the bank is at present somewhat over \$44,000,000; the annual net profits about \$275,000 (1,112,306 marks). There has been considerable difference of opinion as to whether the institution should so increase the rate of interest as to divide the profits among depositors. At present the surplus is devoted to works of public utility. The city authorities have done everything to facilitate and encourage the increase in the number of depositors. At present there are seventy-six receiving offices in different portions of the city.

Vienna.—The position of the capital cities in the general political system has been one of the most difficult administrative problems with which European States have had to deal. England, France, Germany, and Austria have made the attempt to reconcile the principle of local self-government with the supervision which the state must necessarily exercise when questions of national concern are at stake. With the extension of the suffrage, this problem has been becoming increasingly important and complicated. In direct contrast with our American States, we find that in Europe, the great centres of population have been selected as the seat of the central government. In some cases, it is true, selection as the capital city has been the primary cause of rapid growth. In Italy, for instance, the change from Florence to Rome marks the commercial decline of the former and the rapid development of the latter. Within recent years we find a marked tendency toward decentralization, resulting in greater local independence for the capital cities. In the Austrian system, however, this tendency seems to be less marked than in England and Germany.

Recent events in the municipal history of Vienna illustrate the position which the capital cities of Europe occupy in the general political system and at the same time offer some interesting facts as to the development of political and social life in that city. It may be well to give first; the circumstances which led to the peculiar form of government under which Vienna is at present being administered. For some time past the Anti-Semitic party has been gaining strength in municipal elections. As to the cause of this movement, some difference of opinion exists. It is undoubtedly a fact that the Liberal party, which had for some time past been in the ascendancy, especially in the Municipal Council, had dissatisfied the

electoral body by its lack of positive policy in social legislation. This feeling was further strengthened by the fact that in national politics this party had adopted an attitude of conciliation and compromise toward the non-German population of the Empire. One of the fundamental principles of the Anti-Semitic party in both Germany and Austria has been the preservation of what they have termed the distinctively German institutions and national sentiment. In this they have been largely supported by the Conservatives, particularly by the extreme right wing of that party. These facts tended undoubtedly to favor the growth of the more radical elements. As regards the local conditions in Vienna, however, there are certain fundamental economic facts which will tend to explain the surprising growth of the Anti-Semites. From a commercial point of view, the city has never recovered from the disastrous panic of 1873. During the last ten years the struggle for existence among the artisan classes, which is so largely represented in the Viennese population, has been becoming more and more keen. Those industries which lend themselves more particularly to production on a small scale, have formed one of the most important factors in the industrial development of the city. The production of fancy goods of various kinds, toys, leather goods, fans, etc., occupied large classes of the population. Within recent years industry on a large scale has seriously endangered the economic position of these classes. In addition the extraordinary industrial progress of Germany has reduced the importance of Vienna as a great commercial centre. As a result, we find the spirit of discontent rapidly gaining ground, and obtaining expression in an adherence to the party which offers a definite and positive social program, advocates legislation tending to improve the condition of the artisan class, and singling out the Jews as a commercially successful class, makes the attack upon them the centre of political agitation. The leaders in this movement have time and again asserted that it is an economic and not a religious crusade that they are conducting.

Under the circumstances, it is natural that this party, like the Social Democracy in Germany, should have been able to group about itself the discontented element of the population. At the recent municipal elections, held early in November, the Anti-Semitic party was returned to the Municipal Council with ninety-two out of a total of one hundred and thirty-eight members. This large majority seems all the more remarkable when we stop to consider that universal suffrage is not a part of the Austrian system. The electors are divided into three classes: First, those paying a municipal tax of at least 200 florins; secondly, those paying between 30 and 200

florins; and thirdly, all others, that is, those paying more than five and less than thirty florins, together with those of the professional classes who do not come within the other class groups. The age requirement is twenty-five years. Under this system, over 70 per cent of the adult males are excluded from the franchise. In a total population of nearly one and one-half millions, there are but 60,000 electors. Each class elects one-third of the members of the Council. Of the total electors about 7½ per cent constitute the first class; 24 per cent the second; 68½ per cent the third class. Under such circumstances, it would seem that the wealth of the community held the balance of power. Sufficient influence, however, seems to have been brought to bear upon the second and third classes and a certain percentage of the first class, to return the Anti-Semites with a two-thirds majority. Under the form of government, the Municipal Council elects the Mayor, whose election, however, is subject to the confirmation of the Emperor. Soon after the first meeting of the new Council, Dr. Lueger, the leader of the Anti-Semitic party, who is also the leader of the national organization, was elected Mayor by a large majority. The consent of the Emperor was withheld and, at a new election, to which the Council proceeded, their former choice was re-affirmed. The municipal code applicable to Vienna* gives the central government power to dissolve the Council and to carry on the government of the city by means of a State Commission. The government immediately made use of this right, dissolved the Council and has placed a Government Commissioner, with fifteen assistants, at the head of the administration of the city. It is important to note the fact that, the supervision over the cities of the Austrian Empire is generally purely administrative. In cases of this kind, however, a legislative element also enters, so there is a combination of administrative and legislative control. The dissolution of the Council and the institution of the Imperial Commission constitute ministerial acts for which the ministers of the crown are responsible to the Imperial Diet. The action of the ministry in this case has been sustained by that body.

In the course of a few weeks the electors of the city will be given another opportunity to elect a Municipal Council, but it is also tolerably certain that the central government will not recede from its position in refusing its assent to the election of a representative of the Anti-Semitic party to the position of Mayor.

As to the question of justification for this extreme form of govern-

* The Municipal Code, § 46, provides that in case the government finds it necessary to dissolve the Municipal Council, a new election shall be provided for within four weeks.

mental interference in local affairs, it must be remembered that in these capital cities far more than merely local interests are concerned. Even as regards interests which, in provincial cities are of purely local importance, such as, for instance, street making, lighting, and the like, the state, owing to the fact that central political authorities are often dependent upon the efficiency of such local service for the proper discharge of their functions, has a distinct interest in the character of municipal services. This necessity of central control becomes all the stronger when we consider functions of more general concern, such as police, and all legislation for the public safety. It is necessary that the central government should at all times be able to assure itself of freedom from interference due to local disturbances. Another fact, which it is important to note in this connection is that, owing to the concentration of the national political life in these cities and the great influence which they exercise on the political opinions of the nation, it becomes a matter of national importance that the municipal administration should not become a machine for purely political purposes. It is impossible to separate local from national politics in the political life of these centres. When, therefore, the local legislature has become of a character to endanger the public interests of the state, there seems to be every reason for an assertion of central authority. In Paris, where the Municipal Council is apt to take a *doctrinaire* and extremely radical view of local affairs and is often tempted to use its powers for purposes of agitation on national subjects, the state has reserved to itself the power of strict control over the execution of the decisions of the Council. It is, of course, an open question whether this assertion of central authority, such as in Vienna at the present time, can give anything more than temporary relief. If the state refuses to allow the municipality to settle these issues in its own way, it must be prepared to undertake the permanent administration of its capital city.

The experience of American cities has been limited to the assertion of legislative authority in questions of administration. Fortunately, the division of political parties in the United States is along lines which do not, as a rule, call for extraordinary measures, no matter which of the parties happens to be in control. From the point of view of a satisfactory division of powers between state and municipality, the outcome of the struggle in Vienna offers questions of more than local interest.